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flatter an illiterate old man into complaisance. Like many another man who sat high on society's pyramid, he forgot that a man is not necessarily unintelligent because of being uneducated. He never understood democratic government, assuming that he could educate it by means of pamphlets and newspapers after it was already fully embarked in a controversy. He finally lost full self-control, and when the bank was denied a charter stopped making loans with the deliberate purpose of forcing the Jackson men to yield to the bank. "Our only safety", he said, January 27, 1834, "is in pursuing a steady course of firm restriction—and I have no doubt that such a course will ultimately lead to restoration of the currency and the recharter of the Bank" (p. 219). Jackson has often been condemned because he was taken in by Samuel Swartwout of New York; but Mr. McGrane's book shows that Biddle was equally deceived (pp. 213, 217). There is much to show that Biddle was overconfident of his ability to utilize other men for his own interest while thinking they could not see his design. As an illustration of this trait we have his fancy in May, 1838, that he could get Van Buren to relinquish his hostility to the bank and in fact restore the deposits without giving it a federal charter. The scheme was laid before Poinsett in three letters, and the outline of the plan was revealed in one of them (pp. 273-276). He was bitterly opposed to the subtreasury, which he called "the newest and therefore the favorite foolery", and he boasted that it was his opposition that defeated the bill in 1838. In many ways we get from Mr. McGrane's book most interesting glimpses of Biddle the unpractical and rash politician; for after 1833 he was without disguise a participant in the political contests of the day. For the purpose here indicated, of giving the reader a vivid and informing view of the leading characteristics of this interesting man, with some new light on his relations to the history of the day, this volume of correspondence is very successful; but the student who looks deeply into the subject will have to consult the original papers. Mr. McGrane's well-selected volume, however, lacks an adequate topical index, and sometimes the notes do not explain the subjects to which the letters refer as fully as the intelligent reader has a right to expect.

*The Sequel of Appomattox: a Chronicle of the Reunion of the States.* By WALTER LYNWOOD FLEMING. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. ix, 322.)

*The Cleveland Era: a Chronicle of the New Order in Politics.* By HENRY JONES FORD. [*Id.*, vol. XLIV.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 232.)

*The Boss and the Machine: a Chronicle of the Politicians and Party Organization.* By SAMUEL P. ORTH. [*Id.*, vol. XLIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 203.)

THE three volumes having to do with the course of our history after the Civil War in the *Chronicles of America* series which Allen Johnson has planned and directed with so much insight, Fleming's on Reconstruction, Ford's on the Cleveland period, and Orth's on party management or mismanagement, are incisive and well-condensed statements on their respective subjects. The general plan, and the external characteristics of the series as a whole, have been sufficiently set forth in reviews of earlier volumes.

As for Professor Fleming's volume on Reconstruction, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, little need be said, except that it is a bringing together of that writer's previous researches in this field. Here are the fruits of the studies which have led to his *History of Alabama*, his *Documentary History*, and his various writings and editings on the subject of the Ku Klux Klan. We have no higher authority on this theme and may likely not see another who shall approach it with his devotion. That he is a partizan he never tried to conceal, but none can come out of any investigation of Southern conditions after the war, no matter how cursory, without a disgust which will be reflected on the written page. To justify such abominations would completely condemn one's historical instincts as well as the moral sense, and to weigh the evidence with an even hand will always lead inevitably to a narrative that to many on the Northern side a little while ago, if not now, has seemed unfriendly.

Professor Fleming gives a summary of the South's condition at the war's end and then traces the havoc wrought in the mess by negro suffrage, Loyal Leagues, carpet-baggers, scalawags, and their props and stays, the radical hierarchy at Washington. On this background our Illuminati arise, the shadows a-horse in ghostly robes riding through the night, who afford the only touches of romance to that whole lurid panorama that we call Reconstruction. The more we know of this era in our history the gladder we can be that it is now far behind us. That the grand and heroic business of abolishing slavery should have been wrapped up with such infamy is proof of how sin and glory may be near allied. As a succinct account of what he and other investigators have been able to glean on this subject in the past few years Professor Fleming's volume may be commended without reserve.

The period of our political history from Grant to McKinley is ably covered by Professor Ford. His volume contains an account of party movements and their effect upon executive and congressional action from 1876 or 1878 onward. The essay not unfittingly bears the title *The Cleveland Era*. For while this sturdy President had not come into place where he could put his mark upon the period in hand until 1885, it was

the evil aftermath of the war, of many years' accumulation, which it was his duty to clear away. This is his priceless service to the nation, and all may see now, if they might not at that day, as witnesses of and perhaps partizans in the asperities of this time, how indispensable it was for us to have a broad-shouldered inflexible figure of his type to stem the tide of autocratic privilege which had swept over and was bearing down our institutions.

Professor Ford is a ripe student of the questions which he discusses, and one turns over his pages with confidence in their authority. It is of necessity but a skeleton for the period, which is still open ground for the historian. But material is coming forward. Professor Ford already is able to indicate a considerable number of volumes bearing upon the years with which he deals, and his orderly outline of events will lay later writers under heavy obligations to him. The personal sketch of Cleveland himself is vivid. While admiring, it is marked by no fulsomeness of eulogy. Nor are Cleveland's policies accepted for unreserved praise. Indeed at some points in the discussion of his part in stopping the tide of error on the money question, which so nearly overwhelmed the nation, during his second term, Professor Ford will be held to have done rather scant justice to Mr. Cleveland. In the midst of calumny which aimed its shafts at him from every quarter, he stood his ground, a gallant soldier of the state, winning the right to our everlasting respect and gratitude. It is this quiet magistrate who, in no uniform, under no flaunting banners, was given the opportunity to restore the country, after long going astray, to something like its proper course. His achievement may be wanting in romantic appeal, but his example can be studied at this day and in future days with vast advantage. We see in Professor Ford's chapters some of the manly vigor and honest worth of this valuable guide and mentor of the commonwealth.

Mr. Orth's volume on *The Boss and the Machine* is at least conceived in a worthy spirit. So much one can say of it. He exposes and condemns a good deal which fastened itself upon our politics during the era of materialism that followed the Civil War. His a-priorist dicta about governments and parties, like other portions of his narrative, belong to the magazine rather than the page of history. He is betrayed into a good deal which is unhistorical by going to flippant sources and by an eager habit of adjectival writing meant for him whom we sometimes call the "general reader". There are references to the overthrow of Tweed in the early seventies and other scandals attached to municipal government in this country down to date. The Credit Mobilier, the Whiskey frauds, the Belknap impeachment, and other outgrowths of the Grant administrations are recalled. The prostitution of the civil service until federal offices became the personal property of senators and representatives in Congress, the slow progress of reform, the rise of the "boss" in the states, are topics which are treated with some understanding in the volume.

To compass such a subject in an essay of these proportions was in all probability a difficult task. Much was to be brought together, and it is perhaps not remarkable that the author's success has been meagre. He has tried, one can well believe, to draw conclusions over too long a time. There are allusions to early American history and some, too, to a period that we have just finished reading about in the daily newspapers. To have kept more strictly to a few years when the "boss" and the machine, in the sense in which we think of these things, really were born, *i.e.*, after the Civil War, and to have revealed them to us, battering on offices, tariffs, land-grant railroads, and public contracts, until law and public sentiment put them in some degree, if not entirely, into the background, would have been a wiser assignment to duty and a work easier to perform.

When another edition shall be called for Jim Fisk's name should be spelled correctly—not Fisk-*e*. Of conditions in Philadelphia, bad as they one time were, it may be rather more than the truth to say that "dogs, cats, horses, anything living or dead with a name served the purpose" of the registrars in making up fraudulent lists of voters for election day. Those Pennsylvanians who regard Cameron and Quay as representative types of their citizenship could profitably read Mr. Orth's descriptions of the parts that these two men played in the corruption of the American system of government.

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

*The Liberal Republican Movement.* By EARLE DUDLEY ROSS, Ph.D., sometime Fellow in American History, Cornell University, Professor of History, Illinois Wesleyan University. [Cornell Studies in History and Political Science.] (New York: Henry Holt. 1919. Pp. xi, 267. \$1.80.)

THIS is in all respects a praiseworthy book—comprehensive, thorough, clear, unbiassed, and moderate in its judgments. It is a result of untiring research undertaken with an unprejudiced mind, and its conclusions are put forth with such admirable restraint that no one of the participants in that most sensational episode in our political history, did any one of them still survive, could take offense at the way in which his own acts and those of his associates are characterized.

The work covers much ground. In order to make the events of 1872 intelligible it was necessary to explain the many causes that led to the political revolt—the admitted shortcomings of General Grant's administration, the free-trade propaganda, not entirely unsuccessful, by a handful of idealists in politics, and the mutually contradictory motives on one side of a horde of displaced government employees and disappointed office-seekers, on the other of a group of eager civil-service reformers, years ahead of their time. The main part of the work is a history of the preliminaries of the Cincinnati convention, of its intrigues and re-